1927

Liberty

NOT THE DAUGHTER BUT THE MOTHER OF ORDER — PROUDHON

Vol. X.—No. 17. NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 29, 1894. Whole No. 303.

"For always in thine eyes, O Liberty!
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved;
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee."

JOHN HAY.

On Picket Duty.

In the last number of Liberty I vigorously scolded those who do not belong to the Letter-Writing Corps; in this number I must scold as vigorously those who do belong to it, or at least those who belong to section A. As long ago as November 17 Mr. Byington assigned to the members of that section the duty of sending letters on voluntary taxation to Mr. Bolton Hall, who supplies sundry labor weeklies with two columns of syndicate matter under the head of "Tax Reform Studies." It happens that Mr. Hall is one of Liberty's subscribers, and thereby found out that Mr. Byington had made him a target for Section A. I regret now to have to state that, if he had not found it out in this way, he never would have found it out at all; for after the lapse of some time he wrote to me, and very lately he has written to Mr. Byington, that not a single letter from any member of the corps has he received, although he stands in perfect readiness — and, I think I may say, eagerness — to give the benefit of his circulation of one hundred thousand copies to any meritorious letters that members of the corps may send him on the subject indicated. The question then arises: what has become of Section A? Of course, I am aware that there is a saving clause, "when possible," in the pledge of the members to write once a fortnight; but it seems to me a very extraordinary thing that all the members of Section A should have simultaneously found it impossible to write upon a subject that lends itself to discussion as easily as voluntary taxation. Whatever the explanation, it is not too late to take advantage of the neglected opportunity, and I hope that this will speedily be done. But I am set to wondering whether this is a typical case, — whether the other targets are never shot at. Possibly some of the members get discouraged because their letters seem to bear no fruit. They are wrong. No one can be sure that his letter in any given case has been without effect. And further, the theory of this method of propagandism is a scattering of the seed in all directions, with the knowledge that ninety-nine times in a hundred it will fall on stony ground. Then let no one be disheartened; let no one's efforts flag.

Congressman Weadock of Michigan has introduced a bill providing that "any newspaper or other matter of the second class which advises, abets, or suggests the commission of any offence against any law of the United States, or any State or Territory, or any country with which we are at peace, shall be excluded from the mails." The New York "Sun," which has a weakness for advising the violation of laws which it happens to think unjust, unwise, or unconstitutional, opposes the Weadock bill on the ground that it would be an abridgment of the freedom of the press and hence unconstitutional. The "Sun" does not think the law excluding obscene matter from the mails an abridgment of the freedom of the press. It does not think that this freedom would be abridged by a law excluding from the mails newspapers suggesting the commission of offences against the laws of the United States or of the States or Territories. But to exclude from the mails newspapers suggesting the commission of any offence against any law of any country with which we are at peace, — this, in the "Sun's" eyes, would clearly abridge the press's freedom. Wonderful distinction! The freedom of the press, then, is simply the freedom to concern ourselves about those matters most remotely concerning us! I had always supposed that the freedom of the press was considered a safeguard chiefly because it promoted freedom of opinion and action concerning matters of vital interest to ourselves. If not, why have so many centuries of battle for it been thought worth while? Construed in the narrow fashion of the "Sun," the freedom of the press would not be worth a picayune. The editor of the "Sun," being a member of the brotherhood of thieves, wants freedom for his own press and for the presses of his brother thieves, but would deny freedom to the presses of honest people. Now, this position cannot be logically defended, and the "Sun" knows it. Hence it takes no logical issue with Congressman Weadock. On the contrary, it favors the Weadock net in principle, only insisting that the meshes shall be large enough to allow wriggling eels like itself to squirm through. Here is a specimen of its squirming. It has had two articles on the subject. The two together include statements which it would not have dared to print in one article. The squirm would have been too obvious. In its first article it said: "The freedom of the press would not necessarily be abridged by a law excluding from the mails newspapers which advise, abet, or suggest the commission of serious offences against the laws of the United States or of the States or Territories." In its second article it said: "There may be times when duty will oblige an American newspaper to advise the commission of a technical offence against some law of the United States or of some State, — legislation, perhaps, hastily enacted, or wrongfully procured, or fundamentally unjust." The squirm is effected by the substitution of the word *technical* for the word *serious*. Of course, serious offences are those which other people commit or suggest; technical offences are those which the "Sun" and its thieving pals commit or suggest. The "Sun" dares not make a square issue in favor of freedom of the press, for thus it would oppose the existing laws whereby freedom of speech is often denied to the Anarchist. On the other hand, it wants no gag in its own mouth when such a law is passed as that which forbade newspapers to print sensational accounts of the execution of criminals. Consequently, instead of reasoning, it wriggles. For my own part, I hope that the Weadock bill will become law. If it does, an attempt will have to be made to enforce it against Liberty. No better fortune could come to this paper, for the attempt would inevitably fail. This law would be powerless to prevent me from printing Liberty on strong thin paper and mailing it in sealed envelopes to subscribers. I doubt if there is a subscriber on the list who would refuse to contribute the extra cost of postage, and the advertisement of the attempted exclusion would gain for the paper ten supporters for every one that it now has. This very number of Liberty would come under the proposed law, by reason of the closing sentences of my article on the Debs decision. Mr. Weadock, however, had not Liberty in mind. In answer to the "Sun," he says that his "reason for introducing the bill was the fact that a certain Anarchist sheet in New York city, shortly after the assassination of Carnot, advocated the use of the knife instead of the revolver in 'removing' undesirable persons." I would suggest to the Hon. Thomas Addis Emmet Weadock (what a desecration of the name made historical by a great family of law-breakers!) that he amend his proposed law so that it will read as follows: "Any newspaper or other matter of the second class which advises, abets, or suggests the use of the knife instead of the revolver in removing undesirable persons shall be excluded from the mails." This would leave the "Sun" and the rest of us free to use the revolver instead of the knife. Presumably this is not the line of distinction that the "Sun" would draw, but it can be justified on general principles just as well as the line indicated in the "Sun's" articles; and the "Sun," as is well known, is like Liberty in this, — that it is a great stickler for general principles and rigid construction. But the "Sun's" strict construction is one big bluff.

Liberty.

Issued Fortnightly at Two Dollars a Year; Single Copies, Eight Cents.

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Office of Publication, 130 Liberty Street.
Post Office Address: Liberty, P. O. Box No. 1312, New York, N. Y.

Entered at New York as Second-Class Mail Matter.

NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 29, 1894.

"In abolishing rent and interest, the last vestiges of old-time slavery, the Revolution abolishes at one stroke the sword of the executioner, the seal of the magistrate, the club of the policeman, the gauge of the exciseman, the erasing-knife of the department clerk, all those insignia of Politics, which young Liberty grinds beneath her heel." — Proudhon.

☞ The appearance in the editorial column of articles over other signatures than the editor's initial indicates that the editor approves their central purpose and general tenor, though he does not hold himself responsible for every phrase or word. But the appearance in other parts of the paper of articles by the same or other writers by no means indicates that he disapproves them in any respect, such disposition of them being governed largely by motives of convenience.

Single-Tax Logic.

The Single Taxer starts with the proposition that "each individual has a just claim to the use of every part of the earth," and, thus starting, he arrives at this conclusion: "When land has no value, — that is, when only one man wants to use it, — we would exact no tax, but, when it acquires a value, our principle that each has an equal right to the earth demands that its rental value should be paid into the public treasury." These two propositions are made in so many words by Mr. A. H. Stephenson, than whom the Single Tax has no abler advocate, not excepting Henry George himself. And yet truth requires the assertion that a more absurd *non sequitur* than this it is not possible for the human mind to conceive. It has the form of reasoning, but, instead of reasoning, it is flat and absolute contradiction. It is exactly paralleled in its essential by such an argument as the following: "This watch belongs to you; therefore it should be put into my pocket." How does this differ, so far as logic and equity are concerned, from the Single-Tax argument: "To the use of this corner-lot you have a just claim; therefore the rental value of this lot should be put into the public treasury"?

If I have a just claim to the use of every piece of land on the globe, then of course I have a just claim to the use of any particular piece of land. If I have this latter claim, I, and I alone, have the right to sell this claim. Whoever sells my claim without my consent is a robber. Since every Single Taxer favors such sale of my claim, whether I consent or not, every Single Taxer is an advocate of robbery.

Again: since I have the sole right to sell my claim, I have the sole right to decide at what price it shall be offered in the market. Whoever sells it, even with my consent, is a robber, unless he exacts as great a price as that fixed by me. Since the Single Taxer proposes to sell it without even asking what *I* am willing to take for it, the Single Taxer is an advocate of robbery.

If my just claim to a particular piece of land is sold, the proceeds of the sale must go into my pocket. If, after putting them in my pocket, I then see fit to take them out again and turn them over to the public treasury in exchange for police or other services that I may desire, well and good. But this must be entirely optional with me. I may keep these proceeds, if I choose; I may spend them, if I choose; and, in the latter case, I may choose how I will spend them. Any one who attempts to substitute his choice for mine in this matter is a robber. Any one who lays violent hands on the proceeds of this sale and deposits them in the public treasury without my consent is a robber. Nearly every Single Taxer proposes to do precisely that, and therefore nearly every Single Taxer is an advocate of robbery.

But even if I were to allow that it would not be robbery to deposit in the *United States* treasury without my consent the proceeds of the sale of my just claim to a particular piece of land (on the ground that I get an equivalent in the use of streets, etc.), it would still be robbery to deposit such proceeds in the treasury of Great Britain or France or Russia or China or Peru. If I have a just claim to the use of *every* piece of land on the globe, then I have a just claim to the use of any particular piece of land in Peru. If this claim is sold, whoever lays hands on the proceeds and deposits them in the Peruvian treasury is a robber. But nearly every Single Taxer says that such a course as this ought to be followed, and hence nearly every Single Taxer is an advocate of robbery.

Bear in mind that I claim no right to any part of the earth. But a right to every part of it is asserted for me by the Single Taxers. The objection that I am now urging is to their use of their own assertion that a certain thing is mine as a foundation for stealing it from me. Their doctrine may be summed up in three words: Property justifies robbery. Proudhon's paradox is eclipsed. T.

Why a Dilemma?

To the Editor of Liberty:

I fail to see that my answer (Liberty, December 1) places me in any dilemma whatsoever. You appear to ignore that I use the word "government" in its popular sense, and not in that accorded to the term by your definition. If you have a right to contest my use of the word in any sense but that prescribed by you, the stand you take against me may be invulnerable. But I deny that you have this right. It seems to me that your opposition to my endorsement of a government supervision of the issue of credit money springs from a misconception of that which I do advocate.

The broadest, and therefore perhaps the fairest, definition of "government" — the ruling social organization — fails to embrace the direction in which its power is exercised. The ruling power may be in the hands of robbers, when the government is the embodiment of invasion; or it may, on the other hand, strictly confine its actions to the prevention of individual invasion, in which event the organization would merit universal endorsement.

In theory, the present government is a social organization for the protection of the equal freedom of the inhabitants of the territory which it controls. In practice it does not attain this ideal. On the one hand, it is invested with the performance of functions which are in accord with the law of equal freedom. On the other, it engages in that which either is a direct infringement of equal freedom, or is designed to assist infringers. In the former capacity government is commendable; in the latter it richly deserves the condemnation of every honest man.

The question as to whether free competition and a social control of the issue of credit money are compatible depends on the expediency of a social control of credit money in a system of society founded on the law of equal freedom.

If money is wealth "which by mutual agreement is rendered universally acceptable in trade for the purpose of mediating exchanges," then money is obviously inconceivable in the absence of such an agreement. When the money commodity is associated with the token, as it is in true coin, the requisite agreement may be of a tacit nature. But, when promissory notes are used as money, this agreement must assume a more definite form. Those among whom the notes are to circulate have a right to, and will, demand adequate assurance of the ultimate fulfilment of the promises before accepting these notes as money. And if the people are organized for the purpose of preventing individual infractions of equal freedom, they will naturally appoint this already existing organization to solicit their cause, by controlling and guarding the securities tendered by the issuers. This function of the social organization is accordingly a legitimate one, and its assumption by the present government, however imperfect the same may be in other respects, is perfectly proper.

For this reason I fail to see why I must either declare against free competition or against a control of the issue of credit money by the people in their associated capacity.

I trust that the above will place my endorsement of a social control of the issue of credit money in its proper light. Hugo Bilgram.

When Mr. Bilgram says that I neglect to consider his use of the term government, he makes no answer to my criticism. To broaden the term only hurts his case. To help his case he must so narrow his definition of government that it shall include only what my definition of government excludes, — that is, voluntary and non-invasive association. For such an association could issue money without impairing the freedom of competition. But, when he uses the term in that broad sense which takes in voluntary association at one extreme and imperialism at the other, he cannot then take the general and unqualified position that government may issue money, without at the same time denying freedom of competition. To save free competition, he must exclude from the banking business every form of government resting on compulsory taxation. But in none of his statements has he made any such exclusion; he has used the term government in its general, — yes, its popular and unrestricted sense, and it is this use that has placed him in his dilemma.

Up to this point all that I have said is conditioned by the supposition that Mr. Bilgram desires the government to issue money.

But now, for the first time in the discussion, he tells me that he simply wishes the government to control and guard the securities against which banks issue money. Why hasn't he told me this before? Here he makes a good answer, and relieves himself from the dilemma, provided this control and guardianship are to be such that they can in no way make the government either a gainer or a loser by the prosperity or failure of the banks whose securities it guards. If the government does not guarantee these securities, but only furnishes proof positive that they exist, are pledged, have been deposited, and, in case of need, will be sold to redeem the issuer's liabilities, and if it offers the favor of its guardianship to all issuers who wish to avail themselves of it, then, although I still oppose the policy on the same general grounds which cause my opposition to all governmental functions, I cannot

see that it in any way impairs freedom of competition.

I hope, then, that Mr. Bilgram will favor the readers of his book and of Liberty with a clear statement of precisely what he would have the government do in this matter. So far his writings, admirably lucid and profound in their treatment of the economic side of finance, have left the reader generally in doubt as to his political proposals. Never has he been careful to free himself from all suspicion of authoritarianism. I hope he will take an early opportunity to do so. T.

Another Liberty Gone.

No court in this country has ever rendered a more iniquitous decision or one more far-reaching in its evil possibilities than that of Judge Woods of the United States Circuit Court in the Debs case. Without the slightest compunction, it tramples under foot one of the plainest of human liberties, and, in trying to justify itself, shows in parts of its text brazen disregard of logic and shameless heedlessness of consistency, while in other parts it has recourse to transparently false analogies between things totally unlike.

Here is the false principle which it lays down, stated in all its naked wickedness: "Any proposed restraint of trade, *though it be in itself innocent*, if it is to be accomplished by conspiracy, is unlawful."

This is a perfectly fitting counterpart of that ridiculous principle of democracy, — majority rule. The majority principle is that numbers can make that which is false true and that which is unjust just. Naturally enough, the court of a government based on majority rule turns the proposition about and declares that numbers can make that which is true false and that which is innocent villainous. One part of this doctrine is as lying as the other, and the two form a horrible whole.

B, who restrains C's trade by withholding from A his custom, does, says Judge Woods in effect, an innocent thing, but B and C, who agree to restrain A's trade by withholding their custom, do an unlawful thing. I repeat: it is a brazenly illogical proposition, too palpably weak to be argued. If rigorously and honestly and impartially applied, it would wreck not only all the trade unions, but nearly all the temperance societies, health societies, bands of mercy, and almost every sort of combination against things evil, sustaining only that gigantic conspiracy against all things good, — the State. But it will never be applied impartially. Like all other tyrannical laws and decisions, this is intended as a weapon to be wielded in the interest of the tyrants and against their victims. The text of the decision contains a striking proof of this. It says: "The persistent effort of the defendants, as the proof shows, was to force the railroad companies to coöperate, or at least to acquiesce, in a scheme to stop the Pullman sleepers, and for a time they had the agreement of a manager and other officers of one to quit the use of the obnoxious cars." This being so, the officers of this one railroad company had entered the conspiracy, and, equally with Debs and Howard, were guilty of this "unlawful restraint of trade." Why, then, do they not appear among the defendants? Because this new law, or stretch of law, is not aimed at their sort. And yet the passage just quoted, upon which the fact that these railroad officials were not fellow-prisoners with Debs is sufficient commentary, is placed with astounding impudence almost immediately after an argument that this doctrine must hold against the workmen because it would hold against their employers. Here is the reasoning:

> If, for example, the manufacturers of other sleeping-cars, in their own interest, should enlist the brakemen and switchmen or other employees of the railroads, either individually or in associated bodies, in a conspiracy to prevent or restrain the use of Pullman sleepers by refusing to move them, by secretly uncoupling them, or by other elusive means, the monopolistic character of the conspiracy would be so evident that, even on the theory that the statute is aimed at contracts or combinations intended to engross or monopolize the market, it would be agreed that the offence ought to be punishable. But, if in such a case the officers or agents of the car companies, who might or might not be capitalists, would be individually responsible for violating the statute, upon what principle could the firemen or switchmen be exempt?

It is assumed here that the premise, which is false, will be at once admitted as true, after which of course the conclusion follows; and, in order to insure the admission of the premise, the court slyly slips in a false analogy. It appears in the words "by refusing to move them, by secretly uncoupling them, or by other elusive means." This quiet coupling of "secretly uncoupling" with "refusing to move" is a trick for the success of which the court — alas! with too much reason — counts upon the density of the average mind. Judge Woods knows very well that most men will not detect the fallacy, but will suppose it just as proper to punish people who conspire to "refuse to move" cars belonging to others as to punish people who conspire to "secretly uncouple" cars belonging to others. But against this trick Anarchists will place the truth that to "refuse to move" is an innocent act, while to "secretly uncouple" is an invasive act, and that, though either employers or workmen may be rightfully punished for the latter, neither can be rightfully punished for the former.

After this jugglery, the court is ready to grapple the case in hand. The defendants are declared guilty because they ordered the workmen to strike — that is, to "refuse to move" Pullman sleepers — regardless of the court's injunction and knowing that violence would result. How they knew it the court tells. "Last summer," says Judge Woods, "when there were many idle men seeking employment, it was impossible that a strike that aimed at a general cessation of business upon the railroads of the country could succeed without violence, and the inference is a fair one that the defendants expected and intended that this strike should differ from others only in magnitude of design and boldness of execution, and that the accustomed accessories of intimidation and violence, so far at least as found essential to success, could not be omitted."

Of course the usual platitude about the right to strike is not omitted. It follows, but with the customary qualification regarding violence signally broadened in its scope: "The right of men to strike peaceably, and the right to advise a peaceable strike, which the law does not presume to be impossible, is not questioned. But, if men enter into a conspiracy to do any unlawful thing, and, in order to accomplish their purpose, advise workmen to go on strike, knowing that violence and wrong will be the probable outcome, neither in law nor in morals can they escape responsibility."

If, after every strike in which violence may be committed, the leaders are to be regarded as knowing that violence would be committed and are to be held responsible therefor, then that "right to strike peaceably" upon which all the "devil's advocates," including those who sit upon the bench, so plume themselves in granting is reduced, in the words of old Bill Allen of Ohio, to "a damned barren ideality." As Debs well says, in commenting upon his sentence: "Until this decision is reversed there is no use attempting to have another strike. The decision is a fine invitation to the railroads to reduce wages, and I don't believe they will neglect to take advantage of it. If they should do so, God help the poor employee. He will have no recourse but to 'peaceably quit work' and peaceably starve. If he asks anybody else to join him, he will probably be confronted by an injunction and put into jail for a year or so. This will stop every sort of strike. The power of these United States judges is of the most autocratic character. They have the right to try a man, sentence him, and impose any sentence they see good and proper. This whole country is ruled by the railroads, and the United States judges only do the will of the corporations."

Yes, it is true; one by one the authorities are stripping the laborers of all their peaceful and non-invasive weapons, determined to leave them only the ballot and the bomb, both of which are weapons of invasion and neither of which can help them in the slightest. What, then, are they to do? There is no hope for them save in learning the lesson of liberty, ascertaining clearly what equal freedom means and what their clearest and most useful rights are under it, and persisting in the exercise of these rights in quiet but determined defiance of all so-called laws to the contrary, following one another to jail if necessary until the tyranny collapses of its own weight and from the pressure of the growing sense of its iniquity.

The spectacle of Debs in jail will be an eye-opener to thousands. T.

The Balance of Trade.

To the Editor of Liberty:

For once the editor of Liberty is caught napping. In the December 1 "Picket Duty," you say:

> The sudden abolition of custom houses, in advance of the abolition of money monopoly, would work harm by depriving the country of the use of that portion of the circulating medium which would have to be sent abroad to balance the excess of imports over exports.

Substantially there can be no such thing in trade as an excess of imports over exports. I wonder what portion of the circulating medium you imagine would be sent abroad. Gold bullion? Well, that becomes an export and makes exports and imports equal, as would any other true wealth if sent abroad instead of the bullion. The country's circulating medium is not practically decreased by the export of gold bullion, for such export tends to raise the price of gold here, and a flow of gold sets in from countries where the price of it is lower. If the price of it is not thus brought down to what it was in the first place, our supply of circulating medium is increased (our paper and silver currency continuing to refer to gold

standard). If it does come down to its former price, that will be a pretty good indication that we have as much circulating medium as before, so far as gold bullion is concerned.

But perhaps you do not mean gold bullion. Omit the consideration of silver bullion. Can it be that you mean that full-weight gold coin would be sent abroad to balance accounts? Even then gold bullion would as a result flow into this country, and would enter the field as a part of the circulating medium.

You do not think that legal-tender notes would be sent abroad? Nor did you mean bonds. Then what did you mean?

The moment imports threaten to exceed exports, bills of exchange on this country decrease in price, so that foreign importers immediately cease to buy in their customary markets and begin to buy from this country. At once the increased imports are paid for by increased exports (other than bullion perhaps), and there is with suddenly abolished custom houses no greater decrease in circulating medium by its export than we often see under the custom system in steady blast.

There is no harm in closing custom houses or conceding any other liberty. John Hay's "though thou slay us" is a great mistake. Liberty never slays.

Yours truly, EDGAR D. BRINKERHOFF.
MORRISVILLE, PA., DECEMBER 6, 1894.

By no means napping, Mr. Brinkerhoff, but very wide awake. Yes, it actually *can be* that I mean that gold coin would be sent abroad to balance accounts. In fact, it is so sent now. Four millions went in the French steamer two weeks ago today. Beautifully advantageous, isn't it, Mr. Brinkerhoff, to send gold abroad in order to compel ourselves to buy it back at a higher figure? Or else (and more probably) to borrow it back, mortgaging our wealth to secure the loan, and paying interest?

There can be no question that, if all customs duties were abolished, the amount of imports would increase tremendously. And no such comparatively trifling consideration as a rise in the price of bills of exchange could swell exports in a corresponding ratio. Only in rare cases could such a rise be sufficient to overcome the inducement, in lower prices of goods, leading foreign importers to give a preference to other countries than our own. Consequently, if there were no custom houses, gold would leave this country much faster than at present.

Liberty never slays? Does Mr. Brinkerhoff mean that it never harms? Nonsense! The whole issue between liberty and authority is an issue between their respective ratios of advantage to disadvantage. Liberty often involves costly and painful experiment; authority sometimes avoids this. But authority, by its fixity, prevents progress; liberty assures it. Liberty is preferable to authority largely because progress is worth more than the cost of experiment. But this does not alter the fact that experiment *is* costly, — in other words, that liberty sometimes slays. T.

State Socialism's Discomfiture.

The results of the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor are very encouraging to Anarchists. For a year the State Socialists have been engaged in an active campaign for the control of the Federation, and they fully expected to secure the adoption at Denver of the famous "Plank Ten" calling for government ownership of all means of production, — a plank which was offered at last year's convention by Thomas J. Morgan of Chicago, and referred by that body to the affiliated unions for action thereupon. But at Denver they found arrayed against them three elements joined in thoroughly spontaneous alliance, — the Trade Unionists, who have been harassed and partially crippled in their legitimate work by the efforts of the State Socialists to drive them into politics; a few Single Taxers of the more individualistic stripe; and the Anarchists. The representatives of these three parties assailed from their respective standpoints the propositions of the State Socialists. Prominent among them were Henry Cohen and Charles Greenhalgh, two plumb-line adherents of Liberty, the former representing the journeymen tailors and the latter the coremakers; August McCraith, a champion of the Anarchistic solutions of the land and money questions, representing the printers; Henry Weismann, a Communist arrayed with the Anarchists against the State Socialists, representing the bakers; and J. W. Sullivan, the Referendum champion, representing a State branch of the Federation.

The first question put to vote was whether the proposed preamble providing for the entrance of the Federation into politics should be adopted, and the result was its rejection by a vote of 1,345 to 861.

Then the voting on the separate planks began. Nearly all of them were authoritarian and State Socialistic, but, with the exception of "Plank Ten," they were carried, owing to the willingness of the Trade Unionists to support such measures as compulsory education, nationalization of railways, etc.

But "Plank Ten" was hotly fought, and when, after a long discussion, which Joseph Nimmo, Jr., in a letter to the New York "Tribune," describes as one of the finest forensic contests to which he ever listened, Delegate McCraith moved as a substitute "the abolition of the monopoly system of landholding, and the substitution therefor of a title of occupancy and use only," this flatly Anarchistic substitute was carried by a vote of 1,217 to 913.

After this, also on motion of Mr. McCraith, a plank was added calling for "the abolition of the monopoly privilege of issuing money, and substituting therefor a system of direct issuance to and by the people," — a phrasing which is significant in view of the fact that the mover is a believer in freedom of competition in banking, and which contrasts with the usual declaration in favor of direct issuance to the people by the government.

The separate planks having been voted upon, the question of the platform as a whole was then presented, and the convention rejected the rather queer composite by a decisive vote. Nevertheless the Anarchists, to whom the voting was of consequence only as an expression of opinion, cannot be deprived of their cause for rejoicing in the convention's refusal to go into politics and its emphatic preference for free land and perhaps free money, instead of State ownership, as economic solutions.

In the election of officers the State Socialists got a crumb of comfort by the choice, for the presidency of the Federation, of John McBride, who calls himself a limited Socialist, but even this was largely offset by the election to the secretaryship of August McCraith, who certainly may be called a limited Anarchist.

Another encouraging feature was the passage of resolutions against compulsory arbitration and the granting of fundamental patents by the government.

On the whole, the action of the convention may well give pause to those hasty persons who so readily assert that "we have got to go through State Socialism." T.

Secretary Carlisle appearing before a congressional committee to advocate his new banking plan, tells the committeemen in one breath that the federal government has no right to tax State banks at all, and in the next breath he asks this committee to report a bill imposing a tax of ten per cent. not only on all State banks issuing notes not in conformity with his plan, but on all other banks that receive the notes thus issued.

Against "Plank Ten."

During the discussion of "Plank Ten" before the A. F. of L. convention at Denver, Comrade Henry Cohen made the following speech:

Some one has well said, "Monopoly above and competition below are the upper and nether mill-stones between which the laborer is ground." The value of any remedy proposed for labor's ills can be quickly ascertained by the simple inquiry, does it remove the upper or nether mill-stone? "Plank Ten" attempts to remove the competition below. This cannot be accomplished, for to destroy competition would necessitate a system of industrial slavery that no civilized man would accept. Even were it a possible system, the levelling process by which genius is brought down to mediocrity, thrift to prodigality, and foresight to a condition which takes no thought of the morrow, is one that cannot be accepted.

State control is irresponsible, inefficient, and expensive. A business house can make a profit and sell cheaper than the State can at cost. Then why is it that State coöperation has so many champions? Why do so many able and earnest people advocate such an absurd theory? I can easily explain, for I believed and advocated it once myself when much younger, and when I did not know as much about human nature as I do now, and had not yet gone very deep into political economy.

The cost principle is based upon the theory that the selling price of a commodity should be brought down to the cost of production, thus making it possible for the producer to buy back an equivalent of what he has produced, and preventing the glut in the market that always exists.

This theory, when taken in connection with one that I shall explain later, has redeemed political economy. It is no longer a "dismal science," but has been made bright with possibilities.

"Plank Ten" is only accepted in default of something better, and those who believe in it think the cost principle can only be realized by the removal of the competition below, making all workers the employees of a State which produces at cost.

It has probably never occurred to these good people that their object could be attained in a practical way by removing the upper mill-stone, — *i. e.*, monopoly. Let competition be applied to the monopoly above, and the reward now absorbed by the employer would stay with those who produced it.

To accomplish this we must abolish the privileges held by monopoly, especially the money monopoly. The control of the money market makes it possible for the holders of money to get interest for its use. The natural price for the use of money is zero, and, if we had competition in the issuing of currency, it would fall to that point.

Money has been called capital *par excellence*, because it is the tool of all trades; the carpenter needs a hammer, the bricklayer a trowel, the miner a pick, but they all need money. Since every one needs this tool in every change of commodities made (beginning when the raw material is bought, thus ante-dating production, so to speak), the interest paid for its use must be made up in the profit charged, thus making a profit

system possible simply because an interest-bearing currency exists.

We have a money circulation of about one-twentieth of the debts we owe; in fact, it is barely enough to pay the annual interest.

The only objection against the abolition of interest worthy of notice comes from the old school of economists, who said interest was not paid for the use of money, but for the use of capital, and money was not capital. In their view capital consisted of tools, buildings, and the different products used in the immediate production of wealth. It needs but a simple illustration to explode this fallacy. If this view were the correct one, the owners of the different kinds of capital would get the interest. Is this the case? Not at all. The holders of capital, no matter in what form, one and all go to the bank when they want to borrow, and it is money they borrow, and it is interest they pay for its use and for nothing else.

The demand for the repeal of the ten per cent. tax on State and private banks, and the request for loans from the government at a nominal rate of interest, are evidences of a growing intelligence of what is wanted. The first is a recognition of the political side of the question; the second is a recognition, by entirely different people, of the economic side. The fusing of the two is the key to the situation. The demand should take this form: we want the restrictions on the money market removed, so that the debtor class, who can now furnish a security that satisfies the holders of monopoly money, will be able to provide themselves with a non-interest-bearing currency, based directly on this same kind of security. This would be the greatest step possible toward the solution of the labor question, for it would deprive the employer of his power to extort, forever.

A Non-Sportsman's View.

To the Editor of Liberty:

I cannot endorse the views advanced by Mr. Lloyd in his article on "Game and Forests" in the issue of December 1, and in regard to some parts of the same it seems to me that explanations are in order.

I think the writer over-estimates the "source of food" that would be cut off by the practical extermination of game; for, in reality, that is now about accomplished; and, while I do not wish to cause or see any unnecessary suffering, even among dumb animals, I do not think that much extra suffering will be entailed on the animal kingdom by such extermination, even though it "does prevent all life-joys for those whose birth it renders impossible." I imagine they will never know the difference.

I, too, am a lover of nature, but not with the sportsman's love; for I have no desire to kill anything that is harmless or inoffensive; and I fail to see any necessary connection between the love of forests, rivers, and mountain scenery and the desire to kill something. As to the desirability of perpetuating the sportsman's instinct, I duly except. To me it appears but a milder type of the military spirit; which latter, surely, no peace-loving Anarchist could wish to see perpetuated.

"Every healthy boy is a natural savage," he says, which I think substantially correct; and he might add, with equal truth, that most unhealthy boys are unnatural savages; but I fail to see that such is a desirable state of affairs. But "I am extreme Anarchist in this," — that, however undesirable I may consider the tastes and habits of others, I would have no thought of attempting to prevent them from gratifying their desires so long as the principle of equal liberty was not clearly violated.

But the points to which I particularly wish to call attention are the following:

"I claim, then, that in Anarchy . . . . all the unproductive and difficult parts of the earth . . . . will revert almost to nature and become grand natural parks and game preserves, ... and accessible, *at cost*, to all; a *profitable* and delightful business will be afforded those whose tastes take them to the wilderness." [Italics mine.]

Rather strange reasoning, this, for an Anarchist, is it not? I am quite unable to see how one can do a profitable business at cost, and, if Mr. Lloyd can, he will confer a favor by explaining the process.

And then, after having argued to his apparent satisfaction "that this game and these parks would be better cared for than is possible now," he says:

"The preservation of fish in navigable waters is a harder problem. But manufacturers who poisoned fish by waste chemicals could be made to pay damages to the injured fishermen, and the injured public could use the boycott, and the same boycott used against purchase of fish from fishermen using seines and dynamite would be perfectly effective if vigorously applied."

Does Mr. Lloyd really think that the manufacturers in the above illustration "could be made to pay damages to the injured fishermen?" Are the rights of the fisherman superior to those of the manufacturer? Suppose the manufacturer used water power to run his machinery, but after a time cities situated above him on the stream should use so much water that there was not enough to operate his plant; would the aforesaid manufacturer be entitled to damages in consequence? Is it the business of an Anarchistic community to assess damages against an individual who, in the prosecution of his business, has indirectly injured the business of another? If such is the case, then, indeed, the charges of our enemies are not without foundation; and I, too, will affirm that Anarchy will be a condition of disorder and chaos.

Of course, "the injured public could use the boycott," and undoubtedly would when it considered itself injured; "and the same boycott used against purchase of fish from fishermen using seines and dynamite would be perfectly effective if vigorously applied"; but are men that kind of animals? I think not. Most men will take all they can get for the effort put forth, and I fancy Anarchists will continue to be essentially human for a number of generations after a state of freedom has been attained. I am very sure that my poverty in sporting qualities would lead me to buy fish from the man who fished with seine or dynamite in preference to paying a higher price to the sportsman who fished with the more primitive and less effective hook and line; and I am inclined to think that there will always be enough people holding similar views to prevent such a boycott as the above-mentioned from being entirely unanimous.

F. E. Leonard.

Minneapolis, Minn.

Anarchist Letter-Writing Corps.

The Secretary wants every reader of Liberty to send in his name for enrolment. Those who do so thereby pledge themselves to write, when possible, a letter every fortnight, on Anarchism or kindred subjects, to the "target" assigned in Liberty for that fortnight. All, whether members or not, are asked to lose no opportunity of informing the secretary of suitable targets. Address, Stephen T. Byington, 38 Council Hall, Oberlin, Ohio.

To the man who doesn't join the A. L. W. C. because he has no time.

Dear Sir, — Of course I don't wish to take away the time in which you earn your daily bread, if your employment requires you to work fixed hours. Nor would I take time from your eating or sleeping. If these three things take up every minute of your time, and you cannot shorten your working hours without losing your job or starving, I excuse you. But most of us, even when we are most crowded, still find time for doing various things that we could keep life and health without. As long as this is so, the plea of "no time" means simply that we prefer to keep our time in its present uses rather than give it to this business. The time to write one letter in a fortnight is really only a small per cent. of your time. Are you sure that you cannot find any use, to which part of your time is now being put, that you would be willing to trade off for membership in the A. L. W. C.?

Perhaps you have time, but your work tires you so that you cannot afford to spend it in anything but rest. I don't want to be responsible for any premature deaths; but are you sure that you cannot, by regarding this as a recreation, get as much rest from it as from some of the other things you do? Try it and see. Or, if your regular business is just in this line, so that it cannot possibly be a recreation, you must be so well used to writing that it will not be an overwhelming effort to add a short letter once a fortnight to the grind.

I do not doubt that there are those who are temporarily, perhaps permanently, in such a position that real lack of time or strength keeps them out of the Corps. But I am sure that most of those who say "I have no time" mean simply that they don't want the trouble of changing their habits as to the use of some part of their time.

Target, section A. — "The Voice," 30 Lafayette place, N. Y., has always been much interested in the money question, and has opposed national banks as a grant of governmental credit to a private monopoly. In its issue of December 13 it says that Carlisle's new plan is unobjectionable in that respect, but offers no adequate security for the redemption of the notes. It says that the true question is, "Shall the Federal government issue the national currency, or delegate that power to private individuals and corporations"? It adds: "If the opponents of all class legislation would join hands on the broad principle of the government's constitutional duty to issue its own currency, the fight would be a wholesome and victorious one." The paper prefers short letters, but constantly prints longer ones when they contain important ideas — true or false — well put. Stick to free money this time; I hope to use this target again for a broadside on other lines. Show the advantage of freedom in money, and the absence of any necessity for a government monopoly.

Section B. — Prof. R. Ely, Wisconsin University, Madison, Wis., had an article in the "Forum" for October in which he said, "Anarchy is of hell; its slightest touch brings disorder to its advocates and all others. Plague, pestilence, and famine combined are mild evils compared with widespread anarchy." This was in denying the charge that he is an Anarchist. It has been copied almost everywhere. As a student who pays some special attention to liberal social movements, Professor Ely might be supposed to know better. Point out the absurdity of applying such language to the ideas represented by Anarchism. Ask him if he has not been as unjust to the Anarchists as those who called him an Anarchist were to him.

Section C. — The "Popular Science Monthly," 72 Fifth avenue, New York, in a December editorial says of Anarchists: "We should certainly be prepared to listen to any arguments they may bring forward that are not of the dynamite order. Society, we may safely admit, is not perfect; and, if the Anarchist can point out possible improvements, then he is a helper from whom we should not turn away." Take the editor at his offer, and write letters showing what help Anarchism offers for the solution of our troublesome problems.

Stephen T. Byington.

Not the Granny Grannis Crowd.

[London Liberty Review.]

Diogenes once attended a congress of titled and wealthy ladies who facetiously termed themselves "women workers." Most of the members were in full evening dress, for there was a fashionable function to follow.

"Behold," said the cynic, "the nude Democracy!"

Symbolism in Finance.

[Cincinnati Tribune.]

Teacher. — Tommy, did you find out anything about the origin of the dollar mark?

Tommy. — I asked paw about it, and he said the straight lines stood for the pillars of society, and the crooked one for the way they got their money.

Pointers for Comstock.

Oh, Anthony, my Anthony, indeed, if I were you, I'd reform things altogether in a style entirely new.

I'd do this if I were you: I'd prohibit painting, sculpture, and another thing I'd do; I'd prohibit every novelist from writing aught that's true. I'd prohibit music also, for anyone who knows, knows the tune of "Annie Rooney" is not dressed in Sunday clothes. Now, naked eyes on everyone are simply a disgrace; I'd remove them in a minute from the general public's face. I'd cover everything in sight, and I would not give in, till I'd cased up every statue in a solid suit of tin. In short, I'd keep reforming and covering disgrace, till I'd covered every living thing on naked nature's face. That's what I'd do, my Anthony, I'd do if I were you. Now, just you go yourself and see if you can't do so too. F.

"The garden of the laws is full of ironical plants, of unexpected flowers; and by no means its slightest charm is this subversion of the natural order, whereby appear at the end of stems and branches fruit just the opposite of that which is promised by the essence of the tree or bush. The apple-tree bears figs, and the cherry-tree medlars; violet-plants yield sweet potatoes, and hollyhocks salsify. It is delicious." — SÉVERINE.

The Beauties of Government.

☞ *The readers of Liberty are urgently invited to contribute to this department. It is open to any statement of facts which exhibit the State in any phase of its fourfold capacity of fool, meddler, knave, and tyrant. Either original accounts based upon the writer's own knowledge, or apparently reliable accounts clipped from recent publications, are welcome.*

TYRANNY BREEDS TYRANNY.

[New York Herald.]

The barn of Mrs. Baylis, in Yonkers, was burned about 10 o'clock in the evening, Thursday, December 6. Mrs. Baylis stated to the policeman on duty that she had seen some boys around the barn, and that one of them had told her the barn was on fire, and that she desired that they be arrested.

As a result of this statement three young boys — William Ray, seventeen years old, of No. 355 Nepperhan avenue; Thomas Marsh, seventeen years old, of No. 153 Lake avenue; and Robert Dalzell, fifteen years old, of Nepperhan avenue — were arrested at midnight and taken from their beds to the police station. On the following morning they were arraigned before F. X. Donoghue, city judge of Yonkers, where a complaint was entered against them by Policeman Peter McGowan of being disorderly persons, in that they were found wandering around Vineyard avenue, a public street in Yonkers, and not able to give a good account of themselves.

The boys were examined separately, and remanded until the following morning without bail. The same afternoon L. J. Beaudrias, as attorney for Marsh and Ray, appeared before Judge Donoghue and asked that bail be fixed in the usual sum of $200, which the judge refused. Counsellor Beaudrias then presented himself, with Mrs. Marsh and Robert Ray, the parents of the prisoners, and freeholders in Yonkers, and offered them as bail for the two prisoners on the ground that disorderly conduct was only a misdemeanor, and bail was a matter of right.

The judge again refused, and the counsel applied to Judge Gaynor for a writ of *habeas corpus*.

On the return of the writ it appeared that a new complaint had been made against the boys on Saturday morning, charging them with arson in the second degree. This complaint was made by Policeman Wood on information and belief. Judge Gaynor, after hearing the evidence, set the petitioners free and rendered the following opinion:

"The petitioners, boys living at home at Yonkers, were first arrested as so-called disorderly persons. The warrant was issued by the magistrate on an affidavit of a police officer that they were found wandering about Vineyard avenue and not giving a good account of themselves. Who called upon them to give an account of themselves does not appear, but presumably the policeman; but the magistrate leaves whoever it was as the judge of whether they could give a good account of themselves. It would be difficult to conceive of anything more outrageous. It leaves everyone at the whim of the police, and to be judged as to his manners and his reasons for walking upon a public highway by the first policeman he meets.

"Never has anything like this been tolerated by the Anglo-Saxon race. Human liberty never was so cheap. A policeman has no more right to arrest persons without cause than has any other citizen. A club and blue clothes add nothing to his authority, and yet, unfortunately, they seem often to make him feel that every person he meets is his prisoner if he chooses to say so.

"The charge of vagrancy was trumped up. After this writ to produce the prisoner here was served, however, Policeman Wood made a further charge in writing, but wholly on information and belief, that the petitioners had set fire to a barn. The information which he says was given him concerns one of them, Ray, and contains not a scintilla of evidence against him. The law is that no one may be arrested and deprived of his liberty on mere information and belief, and everyone concerned in such an arrest, from the magistrate down, is liable to action for damages for a trespass.

"This is a police case, the like of which have grown to be altogether too common. The people have not made the police their masters or their oppressors. They do not hire and pay them for any such purpose. A policeman has the same right to arrest a citizen which a citizen has to arrest him; no more, no less.

"The conduct of the magistrate in refusing bail for the petty charge of so-called disorderly person should be called to the attention of the tribunal having the power to remove him. If such outrages are allowed to pass quietly, it will come to pass, if it has not already come to pass, that no citizen is safe at the hands of the police. The burning of the barn is bad, but what the magistrate did in this case is far worse and far more dangerous to individual rights and personal liberty.

"If anyone knows any fact tending to show that these boys have committed any crime, let him state it under oath. Until that time no policeman, no magistrate, not even the highest court of authority in the land, may deprive them of their liberty. The petitioners are discharged."

[With invasive legislators and invasive laws it is illogical to expect non-invasive policemen and judges. But sometimes an accident agreeably disappoints us, and we find a man like Judge Gaynor on the bench. The result is that in most of the cases that are brought before him his sense of justice compels him to reverse the usual order by placing the government or its agents in the dock and making the prisoner the prosecutor.]

YOUNG WILLIAM TO SIT ON THE SAFETY-VALVE.

[New York Sun.]

BERLIN, Dec. 8. — The Reichstag Commission, which arranges the order of business, has fixed the first reading of the Anti-Socialist bill for Dec. 17. An analysis of the text of the bill has been made and allowed to become public property. It surpasses what any except the Social Democrats feared. It discloses a proposal to grant the government such sweeping powers as would menace every party and individual whose political opinions differ from those of the established authorities. The bill apparently is coercion in its widest scope. For instance, paragraph 130 provides a fine of 600 marks and imprisonment for two years for anybody convicted of inciting to violence people assembled in public, or of publicly attacking religion, the monarchy, marriage, the family, or the institution of private property, to the danger of the public peace. Another drag-net article proposes the same penalties for the case of anybody spreading distorted or false statements, bringing State institutions into contempt, or ridiculing government authorities. Still another offensive paragraph makes punishable not only the commission of crime, but also the intention to commit it, although "said intention may not as yet have become manifest in acts involving the beginning of a criminal act." The judge alone is left to decide whether the criminal intent exists.

The Radical and Social Democratic dailies agree that the bill will prove virtually useless, as it attacks and antagonizes all parties with but trivial distinctions. The dyed-in-the-wool Conservative press, however, contends that the proposed penalties are not severe enough if they are to be applied to Social Democrats and Anarchists only. The Conservative editors suggest that it will require a stricter definition of the term "offenders" than is given in the bill. Article 3, which deals with the confiscation of papers, they say, is directed against imported Social Democratic pamphlets. The "Vorwärts," organ of the Social Democratic Central Committee, recalls the fact that, in the most active period of the Bismarckian repressive law, it was found impossible to prevent the wide circulation of Social Democratic fly-leaves imported from England and Switzerland. It adds:

"If this bill became a law, the persecution instituted under it will not be limited to the Social Democracy. The journalists of other parties — Agrarian, anti-Semitic, and Clerical — and agitators of every tendency who offend the cabinet ministers will be brought under the weight of the repressive measures. Does the government for a moment suppose that the proposed persecution would check the progress of the Social Democracy or crush it?"

BERLIN, Dec. 10. — Chancellor von Hohenlohe has informed Herr von Levetzow, president of the Reichstag, that the Socialist members of that body who remained seated and refused to take part in the cheers for the emperor called for by President von Levetzow at last Thursday's sitting may be prosecuted upon charges of *lese* majesty. The public prosecutor has requested President von Levetzow to give his sanction to the criminal prosecution of the deputies.

[This beats Jesus. He required the assaulted party only to turn the other cheek. The German emperor requires him to cheer his assailant.]

A NEW METHOD OF BLACKMAIL.

[Ohio State Journal.]

Startling discoveries have been made at Cincinnati in reference to the methods of the department of the State food and dairy commissioner. The conduct of Assistant Inspector Luebbing of that city has evoked strong criticism among the dealers who have been made the objects of persecution. Complaint is made against Mr. Luebbing by Henry Meyer, a grocer at Eighth street and Freeman avenue, Cincinnati. Meyer sells milk which he buys from a Mt. Airy dairy. One day recently his supply of milk became exhausted, and he purchased two gallons of milk from a passing milkman. Shortly afterward a man entered the store and asked for some milk. Meyer suspected he might be from the food commissioner's office, and hesitated about giving him a sample, but he insisted, and finally walked around the counter and got a sample which he took with him.

Two days later Meyer received a postal card, asking him to call at Mr. Luebbing's office. He did so, and Luebbing told him that his milk was not up to the legal standard. Meyer asked him what the difficulty was, and was told that it did not contain the required amount of butter fat. When asked how much it was short, Luebbing gave him no satisfaction, and would not or could not show him a copy of the analysis which he said that Chemist Fennel made.

Mr. Luebbing then told Meyer that, as he had violated the law, he was liable to arrest, but, under the circumstances, as the milk was not from his regular man and was so little below the requirements, he could settle the case out of court by paying $5 for the analysis and $10 to Attorney Dye for legal services. He said that these were the amounts that the State allowed when a case was prosecuted in the courts. Meyer says that Luebbing told him that he could collect the $15 from the milkman who sold him the milk, or have him arrested. After some talk Meyer paid the $15 and got a receipt from Mr. Luebbing for $5 and one from Mr. Dye for $10.

Meyer in turn tried to collect the $15 from the milkman, but he refused to pay.

Luebbing admits the truth of Meyer's story, and acknowledged that other cases have been settled in a similar manner. He says that, where the milk is so near the standard that he might lose the case if he took it into the courts, he has sometimes allowed the party to settle by paying $5 for the analysis and $10 for Mr. Dye's fees for making out an affidavit.

[The professed purpose of the pure milk statute is to secure to each consumer his due proportion of butter fat, but it actually operates to give skimmed milk to the consumers and cream to the State inspectors.]

THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT BEGINS WELL.

[New York Sun.]

SAVANNAH, Dec. 16. — Two factional Democratic candidates are in the field for the mayoralty. The election will take place in January, and it will be the first use of the Australian ballot system here. No one can vote who has not paid all his taxes, including those of this year. There must also be a registration. This has led to a scramble at first, and then to pitched battles daily between men for choice places in the line of the tax collector's office. He can only issue about two hundred receipts a day. The registration closed

yesterday, and it was inevitable that many citizens would be shut out. Each faction hired gangs of toughs, numbering about one hundred, and including the most desperate whites and negroes of the city. These men received from five to ten dollars a day. To each was given a list of six names, the largest number the collector would accept taxes for from one person. Each morning for ten days the two gangs have slugged each other in front of and inside the Court House, hundreds of citizens gathering from all parts of the city daily to witness the mills.

For two weeks no citizen paid taxes for himself, all intrusting their names and money to the hired heelers. At times nearly the entire police force of the city had to be called out to restore order, and for a week the presence of about forty policemen has been required at the tax collector's office.

The heelers were fed at the rival headquarters, where many of them remained all night, going out early each morning to resume the battle. At the Court House beer, whiskey, coffee, and sandwiches were given them. Two or three times a day some of the workers skipped with their lists and money, disfranchising many citizens

It is thought that the cost of keeping up the two gangs, which in the last few days had been increased to about three hundred, to fight for poll-tax receipts, was $10,000. They were disbanded early this morning.

[When those political infants, the women, get the franchise in Georgia, they will be forced to learn, not only to walk, but to slug.]

LOCKED UP FOR ASKING QUESTIONS.
[New York Sun.]

Lemuel Schultz, 32 years of age, of 211 South Seventeenth street, Philadelphia, on his arrival in town early yesterday had an unpleasant experience. Schultz, who says he is an employee in a large clothing house in Philadelphia, uses crutches, having lost his right leg to the knee when a boy. He has for many years desired to visit New York, but, because of being crippled, hesitated to trust himself in the whirl and bustle of the New York streets. A friend suggested that he come here and spend Sunday only. Saturday Mr. Schultz made up his mind to take his friend's advice and, alone and unattended, he left Philadelphia on the owl train, arriving here in the morning between 5 and 6 o'clock, too late, he thought, to go to a hotel for sleep. Leaving his luggage at the station and hailing a belated cabman, he ordered him to drive direct to Broadway. On reaching the corner of Fourteenth street he got out and started to walk first around Union square and then uptown. After walking up Fifth avenue to Central park and back to Madison square he was hungry as well as tired; so he began looking around for a restaurant. Turning into Broadway, he began walking up that street, passing Delmonico's without knowing what it was.

On reaching Twenty-eighth street he saw such a kindly-looking old man that he ventured to accost him.

"I am a stranger in the city, sir," he said. "Can you kindly tell me where I can find a res——"

The old man gave one look at Schultz as he stood leaning on his crutches and gazing appealingly at him, and, thinking him one of the numerous professional beggars about town, hurried on, muttering that he had no money for beggars.

"Damned uncivil beast, I should say," said Schultz to himself as he proceeded up the street. Presently, seeing a middle-aged man coming toward him, he stepped in front and said:

"Stop a moment, sir; I wish to ask you a question."

"I have no time to listen to tales of woe," answered the man curtly, hurrying on.

"Well, of all the uncivil people I ever met these are the worst," said Schultz, audibly this time. He hailed two more passers-by, only to have them turn aside and hurry on.

"Am I ever to find a restaurant?" asked Schultz of himself. "I am sure Philadelphia people would not act like this."

Seeing a policeman, his hopes of getting something to eat revived, and, approaching him, he asked:

"Can you help me to find a rest——"

"Certainly," answered Policeman Cosgrove of the West Thirtieth street station. "I have seen you begging from four men, and I will take you right over to the station, where you will find a good rest."

Schultz protested in vain that he was not looking for rest, but a restaurant; but he was locked up just the same, and later was arraigned before Justice Hogan in the Jefferson Market Police Court and charged with begging.

As he was well clad, the justice asked him for an explanation.

With tears in his eyes Schultz pulled a roll of bills from his pocket, and asked if that looked like a beggar's possessions.

"I should say so," answered the justice. "Many of them have wealth."

"Well, I am a very much misunderstood man," said Schultz, "and am nearly dead as a result of all this. The New Yorkers are certainly the most uncivil people I ever encountered, and to arrest a man when he is trying to ask for a restaurant is simply outrageous. As nobody else has answered my question, I am going to ask you now to direct me to a good restaurant."

He then explained the object of his visit to the city, and talked so honestly that Justice Hogan discharged him and directed him to a restaurant in the immediate neighborhood. Schultz said, before leaving court, that he was going to take the first train to Philadelphia, as he had had enough of New York.

[Every law, whether directed against invasion or not, increases the liability of error, and therefore the danger hanging over the heads of the law-abiding. Where there are ten laws instead of one, every individual is ten times as likely to be falsely suspected. If there had been no law against beggary, Mr. Schultz could not have been arrested for beggary. The imperiling of the innocent furnishes an additional argument against the needless multiplication of offences.]

A RULE THAT CRIPPLES THE RULER.
[New York Sun.]

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8. — An order issued several days ago by the Post-office Department placing restrictions on periodicals sent through the mails as second-class matter has been suspended until after the holiday season, so that certain legitimate publications which are usually increased in size during Christmas time may be allowed to go through as second-class rates.

[The result of this of course will be that "illegitimate" publications, instead of spreading their distribution over the whole year as was their habit before the restriction was put in force, will concentrate as much of it as possible into the period when the restriction is suspended, — that is, the Christmas season, — and will thus put a crushing burden upon the postal service at the very time when the ordinary rush of holiday business is already taxing it beyond its capacity. Bastard periodicals like Harper & Brothers' "Franklin Square Library" and "Printers' Ink" must be smothered, to the end that legitimate periodicals like the "Police News" and the "Daily Sewer" may be carried free, even if the people do not get their Christmas presents before the Fourth of July.]

THE EXTREME LEFT.
[New York Sun.]

Lots of people think that John Donovan is going to have heaps of fun this winter. He's the only Democrat elected to the next Michigan legislature. It's mighty serious business, being the whole minority in Michigan. In the first place, there are the committees, thirty-five or forty of them. The law of Michigan commands that the minority shall be represented on every one of them. Is that fun for Donovan, or misery and trouble? It'll be fun pocketing all the jackknives and paper cutters that come his way, one for each committee. He'll have nearly enough to start a shop. But how it will make him perspire, even in cold weather, hopping around from room to room, watching the Republican majorities in the committees and standing manfully in the forefront of the opposition when their schemes of chicanery and corruption are proposed.

[When one considers that Michigan legislators, like all other Solons, fancy themselves omnipotent, it is by no means surprising that they do not think it excessive to require one of their number to be omnipresent.]

A SURE THING.
[London Times.]

Our correspondent at Oporto writes: "In view of the approaching Christmas time it would be as well for persons in England sending parcels to Portugal by post to know that unless the words *pour être soumis à la douane* [to be submitted to the custom-house] are written on the outside, the receiver will be called upon to pay a heavy fine in addition to the ordinary duty. Abandonment of the article is not allowed, and, in case of refusal to pay the fine, this is enforced by legal proceedings. No plea of ignorance or of any other circumstance is allowed by the authorities."

[If any reader of Liberty has an enemy in Portugal, now is his chance. He has only to send him an endless series of parcels by mail without writing the prescribed words on the outside, and his enemy will be forced to receive each one and pay a heavy fine on it, or else go to prison. Again: the next nation that goes to war with Portugal will be saved the expense of mobilizing troops and fitting out fleets. It need only obtain the directories of the Portuguese towns and bombard all the inhabitants through the mails. For a time, to be sure, there would be a great flow of money into Portugal's treasury, but eventually all the inhabitants that had not emigrated would be divided between the jails and the poor-houses. It is evident that, when it comes to running a postal service, Portugal can give John Wanamaker cards and spades.]

GUILTY OF BEING A BROTHER.
[New York Sun.]

Various stories were current about the whereabouts of Samuel C. Seely, the bookkeeper of the Shoe and Leather National Bank who ran away after robbing the bank of $354,000.

William Seely, a brother of the defaulter, was arrested on suspicion, to see what he knew of the bookkeeper's methods and whereabouts, but he was promptly discharged. "He is a very decent man," said President Crane, "and knows nothing about his brother's whereabouts. He is as hot after the absconder as we are. He and his brother have not been on speaking terms, I believe, for four years. They had some sort of a falling out about personal matters. The brother never was about the bank, and is not concerned in the case."

[Government, in making such arrests as this, puts a premium upon isolation from relatives. And yet, according to the upholders of government, it is the Anarchists who are breaking up the family.]

MUNICIPAL POWER OF EXILE.
[New York Sun.]

CLEVELAND, Dec. 18. — The escape of the murderer of W. H. Price in this city on Tuesday night has brought the authorities to the decision that the entire operation of the police force must be revolutionized. Every gambler, thief, crook, divekeeper, owner of any resort where thieves are known to congregate, has been warned and ordered to leave the city at once. This order was determined upon at the meeting of the mayor and heads of police departments yesterday afternoon.

[Under what law can a municipality expel any citizen unconvicted of crime?]

On the Highway.

[Octave Mirbeau in Le Journal.]

The other day I met old Ibire on the highway. He was gathering dry leaves with which to cover his turnips. I told him that the Chamber had voted the money for the Madagascar expedition.

"Yes, so I see," he said. "What means this new contrivance?"

(For now old Ibire is mistrustful when the Chamber votes something, and even when it votes nothing. At the very word chamber or deputy, the good man instinctively, with a quick gesture, guards his two pockets with his two hands, as if something were still left there, even after the last dip into them.)

"It means," I answered, "that we are too rich, — that we do not know what to do with our millions. It is necessary to spend them gaily. Of course, I do not speak of the fifteen thousand young French lads who are going to rot in Madagascar marshes. It is the soldier's trade to rot somewhere, is it not? And one could not find a better place for that than Madagascar."

"I understand. I had a grandson who died at Tonquin, a grandnephew who died at Dahomey And there are many families in the village who have their dead in distant lands, scattered in all parts of the earth. Yes, but we are to get a great deal out of this, no doubt?"

"Certainly, Father Ibire; a great many annoyances, a great many taxes, a great many tears, — to say nothing of the unforeseen, which is always terrible."

"I understand," said Father Ibire, shaking his head. "But" . . . . .

He thought a few seconds, and then continued:

"But, if they have so many millions, why do they not use them in repairing our highways? See! Isn't it a shame? I can hardly move my wheelbarrow here. Just now I tumbled down again because of the holes. The horses wallow here, the harnesses go to pieces, the wagons break. No, indeed, it is not just. Ought they not to colonize France first?"

The good man sat down on one of the arms of his wheelbarrow, and he groaned:

"For more than four years they have been promising to mend this road. But I have lost hope. For instance, at election time they make a beginning. That is to say, a week before election day they dump here and there a few yards of pebbles. Then the great steam-roller appears. It whistles and snorts, and belches smoke, and makes a devil of a noise. And the road-surveyor goes about from village to village, crying: 'Ah! you are going to have a famous road; only, you will have to vote for the government's candidates.' They vote, and the next day, when the trick has been played, the steam-roller goes away. The little heaps of pebbles sleep by the roadside, and the road-surveyor, who is seen no more, chuckles at the *café*, making game of us. They have given us only a little smoke, and that is all!"

"Then why do you vote?"

"I don't know. Everybody votes, and I do what everybody else does. Besides, what would you have me do? By voting for this one and that one, now for a blue, now for a white, now for a red, one fancies that finally he will hit it right perhaps."

"There is no appearance of it, my Father Ibire."

"I understand. Yes, many candidates will yet pass over the highways. And, speaking of highways, I must ask you to explain to me a thing that has bothered me for a long time. It is true that I haven't much education."

"Out with it, Father Ibire."

"Well, this is it. I am forced, like everybody else, to work three days every year on the highways, — I, with my tools, my horse, and my wagon, if I have any. They call that the road-duty. All right! I am willing. It is just. On the appointed day I come. But they employ me only at ridiculous tasks that rhyme with nothing. To give you an idea of them: four years ago I had a horse and wagon. The foreman ordered me to go and get pebbles at a place two leagues away, at the foot of Montdur hill, which you see from here. I went. There were no pebbles there. There had not been any there for more than fifteen years. One man had taken one load, another another, everybody had taken a little from the heap, — in short, the pebbles had disappeared. I reported to the foreman: 'There are no pebbles left there.' The foreman answered: 'I have nothing to do with that; I do not care whether there are any pebbles there or not; the orders are that you go there for them, and that you cart them along the highway. Now go back there.' I said to the foreman: "How do you expect me to cart a thing that does not exist?' Said the foreman: 'Do just as if it did exist. So off I went again, and during my three days' road-duty I and my tools, my horse, and my wagon, we went back and forth between Montdur and the highway, carting pebbles that I knew did not exist. What do you make of that?"

"That is the Mystery of the Holy Administration, Father Ibire."

"Exactly. But that is not all. So my road-duty was done. It was useless, it is true. But then, there might have been pebbles there."

"That is where you are mistaken, Father Ibire. There are never any pebbles anywhere. Man passes his time in carting pebbles that do not exist. If there were pebbles, there would be no administration, and you would be happy. Such madness is inconceivable."

"I come back to the question I wanted to ask. Here are you, for instance. It wearies you to work on the highways. You would rather pay money than do it. You go to the tax-collector and give him your money. Very well; what do they do with this money? That is what I wanted to know."

"Well, they fit out Madagascar expeditions. They build iron-clads that blow up, iron-clads that sink. They give this money to their friends and acquaintances, to contractors who steal flour from the navy, meat from the army, everything, my poor Father Ibire."

"I see. . . . And the highways?"

"The highways get along without any."

"But the money is intended expressly for the highways."

"All the more reason why it should not go to the highways."

Father Ibire, with his hands upon his knees, looked at me anxiously, his little eyes blinking. Said he:

"I do not understand that at all."

"To be sure, you do not understand it, my good man, for, if you understood it, you would not be willing to live in this physical misery, in this moral abjection in which you have been stagnating for so many centuries, and in which you are held by the combined and triumphant effort of all human perversities. It is because you understand absolutely nothing whatever about it that the State, and the administration which represents it in its murderous doings, falls upon your old carcass, and every day, every hour, every minute, tears from you a little of your intelligence, of your will, of the obscure and latent force which lies within you, but of which you are unaware. The day when you shall understand, — that is, the day when you shall arrive at a knowledge of yourself, at a consciousness of your individuality, — all these phantoms (for they are phantoms) which keep your body in pain and your soul in prison will disappear as disappear in the morning sunlight the nocturnal beasts that prowl in the darkness in search of carrion and living prey. But that day has not yet come, Father Ibire, and its date is fixed in no calendar."

Father Ibire rose with effort. He looked at the highway, — the highway full of ruts and humps where every day for eighty years he had carted for unknown purposes things that do not exist, — and he said:

"All this makes my head ache. I prefer to gather my leaves."

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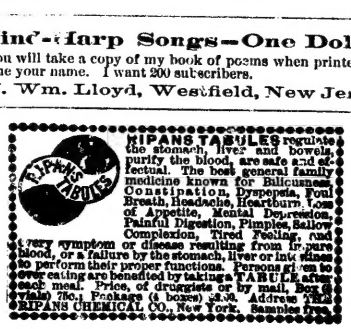

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